

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1331878-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 3
Page 44 ~ Duplicate;
Page 45 ~ Duplicate;
Page 46 ~ Duplicate;

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X No Duplication Fee X
X For this Page X
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AIRTEL

~~SECRET~~ (U)

DATE: NOV 14 1988

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]

b3
b7E

FROM : ADIC, NEW YORK [REDACTED] (SQ I-6) (RUC)

SUBJECT: IRVING KRISTOL

[REDACTED]
(OO:WMFO)

(S)

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 50X(1-HUM,6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C32W33B91

b1
b3

~~entirety.~~ This communication is classified "~~Secret~~" in its

[REDACTED] initiated 5/3/88; extended to
11/26/88.

b7E

Re airtel from WMFO dated 10/21/88.

Referenced airtel set forth the results of the 10/17/88
interview of IRVING KRISTOL, editor of the Washington, D.C. based
magazine THE PUBLIC INTEREST.

As previously advised, NYO discovered KRISTOL's name

[REDACTED]

(S)

b1
b3

(S) As KRISTOL, who denies any contact with [REDACTED] no
longer resides in the New York area, and as this matter appears
to have been brought to a logical conclusion, New York will
consider this case RUC'd.

OSM
CLOSE ON THIS

4

2 - Bureau (RM)

2 - WMFO (RM)

[REDACTED] (C) (CI-2)

1 - New York

RWH/kmf

(6)

~~SECRET~~

Classified by G-3
Declassify on OADR

DUPLICATE SERIALS
DESTROYED ON 11/15/88
BY [REDACTED]

b3
b7E

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
NOV 14 1988	
FBI NEW YORK	

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~ (U)

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 50X(1-HUM, 6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C32W33B91

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC DIV I [REDACTED] (P) (I-6)

Date: 5/18/88

b3
b7E

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJ. : IRVING KRISTOL

[REDACTED]
OO: NY

(S)

b1
b3

This communication is classified "~~SECRET~~" in its
entirety.

b1
b3

WARNING: THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IS CHARACTERIZED AS A "SENSITIVE AND RELIABLE SOURCE OF A
SINGULAR NATURE". PRIOR TO ANY DISSEMINATION SUITABLE
PARAPHRASING IS NECESSARY TO PROTECT THE SOURCE. NO ACTION
SHOULD BE TAKEN ON THIS INFORMATION WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY
JEOPARDIZE THE SOURCE.

(S)

b1
b3

(S)

(S) SAC authority is requested to open a [REDACTED]
in this matter so as to determine the relationship, if any,
between the Subject and [REDACTED]

b1
b3
b7E

RWH: rwh
(2)

OPEN (OR REOPEN) CASE 1058-NEW
ORIGIN NY (DATE 5/19/88)
SUPV RWH SECTION I-6

b3
b7E

PH: 5/3/88; EXP 8/30/88

~~SECRET~~ (U)

Classified by G-3
1 Declassify on OADR

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

MAY 18 1988

FBI NEW YORK

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

HAND AND AUTOMATED

TO OFFICE SERVICES MANAGER

Subject

IRVING KRISTOL

Date

4/29/88

Social Security Account #

Aliases

Address

Birth Date

Birthplace

Race

Sex

☐ Male

☐ Female

☐ Exact Spelling

☐ All References

☐ Main Security Case Files Only

☐ Security References Only

☐ Main Criminal Case Files Only

☐ Criminal References Only

☐ Main Security (If no Main, list all Security References)

☐ Main Criminal (If no Main, list all Criminal References)

☐ Restrict Locality of

File & Serial Number

Remarks

File & Serial Number

Remarks

11/83

rcv

161-88446-SPT

2/82

NO. - not known

* manual

Irving Kristol

9-16163 * not known

1/73

161-42541 * not known

11/72

100-141593 *

5/60

Domestic Security

Requested by

SA

Squad

I-6

Extension

3374

File No.

☒ General Indices:

Searched by

Date

☐ Confidential Indices:

Searched by

Date

☐ ELSUR Indices:

Searched by

Date

☐ ISIS:

Searched by

Date

☐ OCIS:

Searched by

Date

☐ IIS:

Searched by

Date

Consolidated by

AUTOMATED SEARCH

Reviewed by

DATE MAY 23 1988

Date

CLASSIFIED BY 6-3

Date

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

File Review Symbols

I - Identical

NI - Not identical

? - Not identifiable

U - Unavailable reference

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ (U)

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 50X(1-HUM, 6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C32W33B91

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, I [REDACTED] (P) (I-6)

Date: 5/17/88

b3
b7E

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJ. : [REDACTED]

b1
b3

OO: NY

(S)

This communication is classified "~~SECRET~~" in its
entirety.

Re Memorandum to captioned file dated 2/25/88.

[REDACTED]

(S) b1
b3

On 5/4/88, this writer requested traces from [REDACTED] New
York, relative to the following selected names:

b7E

ASSIGNED TO:

WAHEED AL ARABY

ELMER BERGER

GEROLD GREEN

IRVING KRISTOL

(SA
(SA
(SA
(SA
(SA
(SA
(SA
(SA
(SA
(SA

[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
------------	------------

b3
b6
b7C
b7E

1-

①

RWH:rwh
(27)

~~SECRET~~ (U)

Classified by G-3
1 Declassify on OADR

[REDACTED]

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 17 1988	
FBI NEW YORK	

[REDACTED]

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b7E

b6
b7C

b3
b6
b7C
b7E

[illegible]

b1
b3
b6
b7C
b7E

WILEY
Blackwell Publishing

U

~~Classified by G-3
2 Declassify on OADR~~

~~SECRET~~ (U)

Date 5/19/88

☐ Birth ☐ Credit ☒ Criminal ☐ Death ☐ INS ☐ Marriage* ☒ Motor Vehicle ☐ Other ☒ Driver's License

To OPERATIONS CENTER Buded

Return to SA IG File number

Name and aliases of subject, applicant, or employee, and spouse IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL b3 b6 b7C b7E

Addresses
Residence 90 RIVERSIDE DR., NEW YORK, NEW YORK
Business
Former

* Date and place of marriage (if applicable)

Race <u>WHITE</u>	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	Age <u>69</u>	Height	Weight	Hair	Eyes
Birth date <u>1/22/20</u>		Birthplace <u>MANHATTAN</u>				
Arrest Number		Fingerprint classification		Criminal specialty		
Specific information desired						Social Security Number

Results of check

NO HIT
KU

RA
(X)

b3
b7E

~~CLASSIFIED BY G-3~~ (U)

~~DECLASSIFY ON: OADR~~

~~SECRET~~ (U)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 20 1988	
FBI NEW YORK	

b6
b7C

Date _____

5/16/88

Social Security Account #

AKA IRVING CRYSTAL, CRYSTOL

Birth Date

Birthplace	<p> 1. <input type="text"/> </p> <p> 2. <input type="text"/> </p>
-------------------	---

Race	
-------------	--

Sex

☐ Male
☐ Female

- ☐ Exact Spelling ☐ Main Criminal Case Files Only ☐ Restrict Locality of _____
☐ All References ☐ Criminal References Only
☐ Main Security Case Files Only ☐ Main Security (If no Main, list all Security References)
☐ Security References Only ☐ Main Criminal (If no Main, list all Criminal References)

[illegible]

5A

Squad

I-6

Extension

3374

File No.

☐ **General Indices:**

☐ **ISIS:**

Searched by

Date _____

Searched by

Date _____

☐ Confidential Indices:

☐ **OCIS:**

Searched by

Date _____

☐ IIS:

Searched by

~~CLASSIFIED BY: G-8~~ (U)

Date _____

Reviewed by

~~DECLASSIFY ON: OADR~~

~~Date~~

File Review Symbols

I - Identical

? - Not identifiable

NI - Not identical

U - Unavailable reference

*U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE:1987-181-487:60511

SEARCHED A INDEXED CH
SERIALIZED ED FILED CH

~~MAY~~ 23 1988

FBI NEW YORK

b3
b6
b7C
b7E

~~SECRET~~ (U)

Date 5/19/88

☐ Birth ☐ Credit ☒ Criminal ☐ Death ☐ INS ☐ Marriage* ☐ Motor Vehicle ☐ Other ☐ Driver's License

To NCIC 26th FL Buded

Return to SA I-6 File number b3
b6

Name and aliases of subject, applicant, or employee, and spouse b7C
b7E

IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL

Addresses

Residence 90 RIVERSIDE DR. NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Business


Former

* Date and place of marriage (if applicable)

Race <u>WHITE</u>	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	Age <u>69</u>	Height	Weight	Hair	Eyes
Birth date <u>1/22/20</u>		Birthplace <u>MANHATTAN</u>				
Arrest Number		Fingerprint classification		Criminal specialty		

Specific information desired Social Security Number

Results of check

5-23-88
NCIC/NYPD



R#


b3
b7E

~~CLASSIFIED BY G-3~~
~~DECLASSIFY ON: OADR~~

~~SECRET~~ (U)

(Use reverse side, if necessary)

SERIALIZED <u>9/2</u> FILED <u>9/2</u>	
<u>MAY 25 1988</u>	
FBI NEW YORK	
	

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

(U)

INQUIRY TYPE 1 - NAME INQUIRY TO DETERMINE IF CHRI IS AVAILABLE
FOR PURPOSE "C" ONLY

QFBC HINQ DCJS

06281 FILE 15

MESSAGE KEY/QH PURPOSE/C.REASON/CRI.ORI/NYFBINYO0.IDENT #/I105C-

.NAM/KRISTOL,IRVING WILLIAM .SEX/M.RAC/U.DOB/012220.SKIN TONE/* .HGT/*

.SOC/* .FBI/* .MNU/*

.ALIAS#1/* .ALIAS#2/*

.ALIAS#3/* .ALIAS#4/*

.ALIAS#5/*

.AUTH/ [REDACTED] "

b6
b7C

N 1432-1433 05/23/88 0944043 QFBC10343

NYSP PTST QFBC 1433

NYFBINYO0

NO RECORD - NYSPIN WANTED PERSONS FILE

NAM/KRISTOL,IRVING WILLIAM

.DOB/012220.SEX/M.RAC/U

N 1432-1433 05/23/88 0944066 QFBC10344

NCIC PTST QFBC 1433

NYFBINYO0

NO NCIC WANT DOB/012220 NAM/KRISTOL,IRVING WILLIAM SEX/M RAC/U

N 1432-1433 05/23/88 0944064 QFBC10345

NYIS HINQ QFBC 1433

QFBC06281 NO SUSPECTS

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

(U)

INQUIRY TYPE 2 - NAME INQUIRY TO FBI NCIC III TO DETERMINE IF CHRI IS AVAILABLE
FROM ANY PARTICIPATING STATE OR AGENCY - PURPOSE "C" & "J" ONLY

QFBC HING NCIC

06282 FILE 15

.MESSAGE KEY/QH.PURPOSE/C.ORI/NYFBINY00

.NAM/KRISTOL, IRVING WILLIAM

.SEX/M.RAC/U.DOB/012220.SOC/*

.MNU/*

.FBI/*

.SID/*

N 1434-1434 05/23/88 0946010 QFBC10346

NYSP PTST QFBC 1434

NYFBINY00

NO RECORD - NYSPIN WANTED PERSONS FILE

NAM/KRISTOL, IRVING WILLIAM

.DOB/012220.SEX/M.RAC/U

N 1434-1434 05/23/88 0946096 QFBC10347

NCIC PTST QFBC 1434

NYFBINY00

NO NCIC WANT DOB/012220 NAM/KRISTOL, IRVING WILLIAM SEX/M RAC/U

N 1434-1434 05/23/88 0946118 QFBC10348

NCIC HING QFBC

ACK 06282

NYFBINY00

NO IDENTIFIABLE RECORD IN THE NCIC INTERSTATE IDENTIFICATION INDEX
(III) FOR NAM/KRISTOL, IRVING WILLIAM.SEX/M.RAC/U.DOB/012220.

NOTICE -- THIS DOES NOT PRECLUDE THE POSSIBLE EXISTENCE OF MATCHING
RECORDS IN LOCAL, STATE, OR FBI IDENTIFICATION DIVISION FILES THAT ARE
NOT INDEXED IN THE NCIC III. IF YOU DESIRE A SEARCH OF THE FBI
IDENTIFICATION DIVISION FILES, A FINGERPRINT CARD SHOULD BE SUBMITTED.
END

~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

(U)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 27 1988	
FBI NEW YORK	

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~~SECRET~~

(U)

To Free Gold and Sobell

Clemency Believed in Order in View
of Ten Years' Imprisonment

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

We should like, with your permission, to direct public attention to the cases of two men now serving sentences of thirty years' imprisonment for espionage. We feel that in both cases the sentences were excessive and that—a full decade having passed—an act of clemency is now in order.

The first case is that of Harry Gold, who cooperated fully with the authorities in exposing Soviet espionage activities in this country, but who nevertheless (for reasons beyond our comprehension) received this extreme sentence. He now languishes in jail. While both Allen Nunn May and Klaus Fuchs were far more important and sinister figures than Gold, neither evidenced any noticeable change of heart; neither rendered any assistance to his Government; and yet they are now set free, while Gold remains in prison. We submit that this is an absurd injustice which ought to be remedied.

The second case is that of Morton Sobell. We agree with the jury that Sobell—who protests his innocence—was guilty of espionage beyond a reasonable doubt. But we think that ten years' is an ample sentence for what Sobell actually did, and that, having served the term, he should now be released.

Lack of Evidence

Sobell was tried together with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were convicted of supplying atomic data to Soviet agents and were later executed. The only witness against him, Max Elitcher, stated merely that Sobell had tried, without success, to get military information from him for the benefit of the Soviet Union. Elitcher said nothing about atomic espionage, as Judge Kaufman admitted in sentencing Sobell. "The evidence in the case did not point to any activity on your part in connection with the atom bomb project."

This is why the late Judge Jerome Frank of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit dissented from the opinion of his two colleagues in upholding the verdict on Sobell.

In view of the fact that no atomic espionage was even alleged against him, and that the sole witness testified merely to unsuccessful attempts to procure information, we think that Sobell should now be released from prison.

(We do not mention David Greenglass, another principal involved in this case, whose testimony as a co-operative witness played a key role, because he was sentenced to fifteen years and has been eligible for parole for some time. His applications for parole have been uncharitably denied seven times. What we have said above applied *a fortiori* to him.)

NATHAN GLAZER, SIDNEY HOOK,
IRVING KRISTOL, DWIGHT MACDONALD.

New York, Feb. 9, 1960.

CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y.

EDITION

DATED

PAGE

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

NOT FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

100-107111-3901

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
33	82

~~SECRET~~ (U)

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 25X(1,6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C32W33B91

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC DIV I [] (P) (I-6)

Date: 5/27/88

b3
b7E

FROM : SA []

b6
b7C

SUBJ. : IRVING KRISTOL

OO: NY

(S)

b1
b3

~~This communication is classified "SECRET" in its
entirety.~~

"AUTOMATED RECORD"

A review of New York indices has disclosed that an IRVING KRISTOL of 90 Riverside Drive, New York, New York, was the subject of NY 161-4254. Further, the same IRVING KRISTOL is mentioned in NY 100-107111 (titled "COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL") as a co-author of a letter to the NEW YORK TIMES, dated 2/16/60, directing public attention to what the authors believed to be overly harsh sentences meted out to HARRY GOLD and MORTON SOBELL. Both individuals were convicted of espionage during the 1950's; SOBELL as a conspirator in the ROSENBERG case and GOLD in connection with ALLEN NUNN MAY and KLAUS FUCHS.

A copy of the aforesaid article (serial 3901 of NY 100-107111) is attached hereto for reference.

NY 161-4254 contains extensive background information on KRISTOL, who was being considered, in late 1972, for an unspecified Presidential appointment.

A summation of the more pertinent information set forth in 161-4254 follows:

The Appointee, IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL, was born 1/22/20 in New York City. Both of his parents were Russian emigres.

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[]

(ATTACH 1)

RWH:rwh
(2)

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Classified by G-3
Declassify on OADR

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SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 27 1988	
FBI NEW YORK	

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[REDACTED]

At the time of investigation he resided at 90 Riverside Drive, New York, New York and held the HENRY LUCE CHAIR OF URBAN VALUES at NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

By his own admission, KRISTOL was a member of THE YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, "a Trotskyite group", from 1939 to 1940.

Appointee served as editor of numerous magazines, including COMMENTARY, ENCOUNTER, THE REPORTER, THE PUBLIC INTEREST, and FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

It is reported, without further substantiation, that ENCOUNTER magazine, which KRISTOL co-founded and co-edited in London, ENGLAND in 1959, was financed by the [REDACTED]

b7E

All interviewees were highly complimentary of Appointee, consistently describing him as "loyal, intelligent, conservative," and "trustworthy".

No derogatory information was uncovered.

Appointee's associates included many prominent professionals including WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, ALLEN GREENSPAN and DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN.

On 1/20/53, THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM, while KRISTOL was Executive Director, charged that the EMERGENCY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE was a Communist front organization.

In 1967 KRISTOL served on a FORD FOUNDATION delegation to Germany and as a member of a RAND CORPORATION STUDY GROUP ON URBAN PROBLEMS.

In 1968 he was a member of the VICE PRESIDENT'S TASK FORCE ON INCOME MAINTENANCE and in 1969 he served on the PRESIDENT-ELECT'S TASK FORCE ON VOLUNTARY URBAN ACTION.

KRISTOL has written numerous books and articles for prominent publications such as NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, HARPER'S, ATLANTIC MONTHLY, FORTUNE and YALE REVIEW.

~~SECRET~~

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Classified by G-3
Declassify on OADR

~~SECRET~~ (U)

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[REDACTED]

Most of KRISTOL'S writings appear to deal with modern/urban sociological problems or political science.

He has been described as a "political philosopher on urban problems and education".

At the time of the Special Inquiry KRISTOL does not appear to have been actively involved in Middle Eastern issues. Further, while a prominent and well respected Jewish intellect, there is no indication that he was an activist in regard to international issues of Jewish concern.

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~Classified by G-3
Declassify on OADR~~

~~SECRET~~ (U)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC DIV I [redacted] (P)(I-6)

Date: 6/6/88

b3
b7E

FROM : SA [redacted] (I-6)

SUBJ. : [redacted] (S)

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OO:NY

~~entirety.~~ This communication is classified "~~SECRET~~" in its

Re SA [redacted] (I-6) AND SA [redacted]
conversation with SA [redacted] (I-8) re captioned subject
of 6/6/88.

b6
b7C

SA [redacted] is requested to interview logical New York
University(NYU) assets for any positive information re the
following individuals, to include their exact title/functions,
any logical or other associations they have or may still have
with Soviet nationals, and the expected receptivity each might be
expected to provide during FBI interview re their contacts with
captioned subject/Soviet nationals:

1. Professor [redacted] (NYU Politics)
2. Professor [redacted] (NYU History)
3. Professor [redacted] (NYU Graduate School of
[redacted] in [redacted]
[redacted] at the Institute of American Enterprise
4. [redacted]
5. IRVING KRISTOL

SA [redacted] is further requested to furnish the results to
the appropriate files(detailed in the copy count below).

(S) [redacted] (I-6)
[redacted] (I-6)
[redacted] (I-6)
[redacted] (I-6)
[redacted] (I-6)
[redacted] (KRISTOL)(I-6)
[redacted] (I-8)

OCE:oce
(7)

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Classified by G-3
1 Declassify on OADR

[redacted]
SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
JUN 6 1988
[redacted]

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EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
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EXEMPTION CODE: 50X(1-HUM, 6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C32W33B91

~~SECRET~~ (U)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC DIV 1 [REDACTED] (P) (1-6)

Date: 6/9/83

b3
b7E

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (1-6)

SUBJ. : [REDACTED] (S)

b1
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b7C

OO: NY

~~This communication is classified "SECRET" in its
entirety.~~

The following sources were reviewed for positive
information concerning the individuals detailed below, in
connection with their names being listed in captioned subject's
notebook:

1. Columbia University's 1987-88 Directory of Officers
(Faculty) and Staff (includes Barnard College)
2. Columbia University's 1987-88 Student Directory

Despite the name variations (listed in parenthesis) being
checked, no positive information re the following individuals was
located in either of the above sources:

[REDACTED]

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IRVING KRISTOL

[REDACTED]

OCE:oce
(28)

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Classified by G-3
1 Declassify on OADR

JUN 09 1988

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~~SECRET~~ (U)

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b6
b7C
b7E

(See name variation information below)

The following individuals had positive information
(detailed below) listed as an entry only in source number
one(supra):

(Re [redacted]
[redacted] SECRETARY, [redacted]
(OFC.) [redacted]

b3
b6
b7C
b7E

NOTE: Name variation information re [redacted] supra).
[redacted] ASSISTANT CLINICAL PROFESSOR, PSYCHIATRY.
[redacted] NEW YORK, NY 10028; [redacted]

NJ [redacted] (OFC.) [redacted]

(Re [redacted]
[redacted] ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, POLITICAL SCIENCE; [redacted]
[redacted] NJ [redacted] (OFC.) [redacted]

(Re [redacted]
[redacted] PROFESSOR, POLITICAL SCIENCE; DIRECTOR.
POLITICAL SCIENCE; [redacted] (OFC.) [redacted]

NOTE: Name variation information re [redacted] (supra).
[redacted] SENIOR RESEARCH SCHOLAR, [redacted]

YORK, NY 10024; [redacted] (OFC.) [redacted] NEW

The following individuals had positive information
(detailed below) listed as an entry only in source number
two(supra):

(Re [redacted] DIV YR DEGREE MAJOR [redacted]
[redacted] GF FGR REG POLS [redacted]
[redacted] MI [redacted]
[redacted] NEW YORK NY [redacted]

(Re [redacted]
[redacted] GF FGR REG POLS [redacted]
[redacted] LOUDONVILLE NY [redacted]
[redacted] C.U. LOCAL [redacted]

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(S) NOTE: THE ABOVE TWO SOURCES WERE FURNISHED BY [Redacted] WHO
HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MEMORANDUM

~~SECRET~~ (U)

6-29-88

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b7E

TO : SAC [REDACTED]

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (I-8)

SUBJECT : [REDACTED] (S)
(OO:NY)

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 50X(1-HUM,6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C32W33B91

This communication is classified "~~Secret~~" in its
entirety.

b1
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b7C

Asset: [REDACTED] (S)
Date of Contact: 6/9/88
Contacted By: SA [REDACTED]
Reliability: Reliability has yet to
be established.

Asset could provide no information on the following
individuals:

1. Professor [REDACTED] (NYU Politics)
2. Professor [REDACTED] (NYU History)
3. Professor [REDACTED] (NYU Graduate School of
Business/Specialty in Social Thought/Senior
Fellow at the Institute of American Enterprise)
4. [REDACTED]
- ✓ 5. IRVING KRISTOL

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I-6

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Declassify on OADR

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[REDACTED]

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SERIALIZED FILED
JUN 29 1988
FBI - NEW YORK
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

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DKS:rmb
(1)

~~SECRET~~ (U)



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

In Reply, Please Refer to SA [redacted]
 File No. [redacted]

Section I-6 b3
 Date 2/28/88 b6
 b7C
 b7E

Honorable Benjamin Ward
 Police Commissioner
 New York City Police Department
 1 Police Plaza
 New York, NY 10038

My Dear Commissioner:

It is requested that this office be furnished the criminal record of: (last name followed by given name and middle name)

Name: IRVING ^{WILLIAM} KRISTOL

Also Known As: _____

Address: 200 CENTRAL PARK SOUTH
N.Y., N.Y.

Race: W

Sex: M

Date of Birth: 1/22/20

Birthplace: NEW YORK CITY

Height: _____

Weight: _____

Hair: _____

Eyes: _____

Scars, Tattoos, or Marks: _____

Social Security Number: _____

Arrest number or previous arrest: _____

Photographs desired: YES

NO CRIMINAL RECORD
 BY INFORMATION GIVEN
 IDENT. SECT. N.Y.C.P.D.

Searched by: _____

Very truly yours,

JOHN L. HOGAN
 Assistant Director in Charge

FBI NEW YORK

b6
 b7C

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DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 50X(1-HUM,6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C32W33B91

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~ (U)

6-29-88

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC [REDACTED]
FROM : SA [REDACTED] (I-8)
SUBJECT : IRVING KRISTOL
[REDACTED] (S)
(OO:NY)

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This communication is classified "~~Secret~~" in its
entirety.

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Asset: [REDACTED] (S)
Date of Contact: 6/9/88
Contacted By: SA [REDACTED]
Reliability: Reliability has yet to
be established.

Asset advised that he did not know of the subject.

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SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JUN 29 1988
FBI - NEW YORK

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Classified by G-3
Declassify on OADR

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EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 25X(1,6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C32W33B91

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

M E M O R A N D U M

TO : SAC, I [REDACTED] (P) (I-6)

Date: 7/1/88

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b7E

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

SUBJ. : IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL
[REDACTED]

b1
b3

OO: NY

(S)

This communication is classified ~~"SECRET"~~ in its
entirety.

A review of the 1988 NYNEX Manhattan directory discloses
that an IRVING KRISTOL is the subscriber to 212 582-1549.

Coles Directory (1988) ascribes 212 582-1549 to the
address 200 Central Park South, New York, New York 10019.

Further review of that directory discloses that an IRVING
KRISTOL is listed as residing in apartment 78 at 200 Central Park
South.

It is noted, however, that an article published in THE
WASHINGTON POST on June 30, 1988, and which is being retained in
this case file, refers to the fact that IRVING KRISTOL, a long
time resident of New York City, recently moved to Washington,
D.C..

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b7C

Norman Podhoretz

Move to Washington? No, a Thousand Times No.

Manhattan is still the only place to be.

Ever since my old friend Irving Kristol, who is universally regarded as the quintessential New York intellectual, wrote an article explaining why he recently moved to Washington (taking the magazine he edits, *The Public Interest*, along with him), people keep asking me if I think he is right about the decline of New York as an intellectual center. The answer is yes.

But when they then go on to ask whether I also agree that Washington is replacing New York as the nation's intellectual center, the answer is no. And when, finally, they ask whether I intend to leave New York and move down there myself, the answer is again no and a thousand times no.

It will be obvious from my tone that I have strong negative feelings about Washington. And yet it is a city I have good reason to like and even love.

To begin with, in nearly three decades of periodic visits, I have never had a really nasty social encounter in Washington—which is a lot more than I can say for my life in New

York. And as if that were not enough, three of my children—and what is even more important to a world-class dater, like me—six of my grandchildren have been living in Washington for the past several years.

In spite of all this, however, my feelings about the place remain stubbornly negative.

The problem, the eternal problem, the problem that can never be overcome, is that Washington is a company town. As Detroit is to automobiles, and as Los Angeles is to the movies, so Washington is to the one great industry by which it was created and to which it remains umbilically tied.

But Washington is even more of a company town than Detroit or Los Angeles. In Detroit, I gather, life has sometimes been known to go on without reference to the manufacture of cars, and in Los Angeles there are actually people who have nothing to do with the production of films. But in Washington no analogous possibility can be imagined. In Washington nothing exists or has ever existed or will

ever take root that is not part of or intimately related to the federal government.

That is why Washington can never develop into an intellectual center: No matter how many think tanks may set up shop there or how many veterans of New York's ideological wars may join them, Washington will remain a company town. And it is in the unalterable and ineluctable nature of a company town to strangle any and all interest in anything other than gossip about the affairs of the company.

This ought to have made Washington a fertile ground for novelists, but for some mysterious reason it never has. There are no great Washington novels, and scarcely even any reasonably good ones.

But if it is hard to figure out why Washington is less than conducive to the writing of first-rate fiction, it is easy to see why the city is death on the life of ideas.

Karl Marx once said that he differed from all the philosophers who

had come before him in that they only wanted to understand the world, whereas he wanted to change it. In that sense, the culture of Washington is thoroughly "Marxist."

Thus, in Washington what they mean by an idea is a practical proposal for a political scheme. But for ideas that cannot immediately be used to further a policy, or that aim "only" at analyzing or synthesizing the realities around us so that we can comprehend or appreciate them better, Washington has little patience and less time. In the eyes of Washington, such ideas, in addition to being boring, are not even of any help when it comes to comprehending and appreciating the company business, which is, after all, the only reality that really counts.

"Outside the Beltway," wrote the young Washington journalist Tod Lindberg in describing the local attitude a few seasons ago, "lives the mass of men who do not understand, have no hope of understanding, the true role of Donald Regan, the pros-

pects of military or tax reform, the political position and future of Jeane J. Kirkpatrick." And though Lindberg himself is sardonic about this attitude, he nevertheless believes that "the utility of this inside knowledge is undeniable."

Yet in writing about politics I for one have invariably managed better by ignoring inside information than by relying on it. In fact, the worst mistakes in political judgment I have ever made have come from taking the gossip of Washington at face value.

Irving Kristol finds this special Washington gossip "amazing" and "enchanting," but to me its solitary confinement to the company business is deadly—so much so that whenever I spend enough time there to get a serious whiff of it, my mind begins gasping claustrophobically for air.

While it is true, then, that New York no longer has the kind of sparkling intellectual community it used to have, there is no chance that a

successor community will reconstitute itself in Washington.

In any case, even without a cohesive intellectual community, New York is still an infinitely better setting in which to think about important things, including even political things, than Washington.

For if there is a ruling passion in New York, it is not (as Kristol says) the pursuit of money but rather the ambition for success; and unlike the power that is Washington's ruling passion, success in New York can take so many forms, and can be sought in so many different areas, that the obsession with it makes for a more multifarious and therefore more intellectually interesting world than is dreamed of in the monomaniacal philosophy of our most monolithic company town.

So I wish my old friend well in his new surroundings, but for this surviving remnant of the moribund New York intellectual community, Manhattan is still the only place to be.

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FBI NEW YORK

JUL 01 1988

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

Title: "MOVE TO
TO WASHINGTON? NO,
A THOUSAND TIMES NO."
Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

Date: June 30, 1988
Edition:

pg. A19, THE
WASHINGTON POST

(Indicate page, name of
newspaper, city and state.)

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Date 6/29/88

☐ Birth ☐ Credit ☐ Criminal ☐ Death ☐ INS ☐ Marriage* ☐ Motor Vehicle ☒ Other NEXUS
☐ Driver's License

To OPERATIONS CENTER Buded

Return to SA [redacted] File number [redacted]

Name and aliases of subject, applicant, or employee, and spouse

IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL

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Addresses

Residence 200 PARK AVE. SOUTH, N.Y., N.Y.

Business

Former 90 RIVERSIDE DR., N.Y., N.Y.

* Date and place of marriage
(if applicable)

Race <u>W</u>	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	Age <u>68</u>	Height	Weight	Hair	Eyes
Birth date <u>1/22/20</u>		Birthplace <u>N.Y.C.</u>				
Arrest Number		Fingerprint classification		Criminal specialty		

Specific information desired ARTICLES PUBLISHED BY KRISTOL Social Security Number

Results of check * NOTE

KRISTOL WAS A PROFESSOR AT NYU AND THE EDITOR OF
NUMEROUS MAGAZINES, I.E. COMMENTARY, ENCOUNTER, THE REPORTER,
THE PUBLIC INTEREST, FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

HE REPORTEDLY WROTE NUMEROUS ARTICLES FOR THE NEW
YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, HARPER'S, ATLANTIC MONTHLY, FORTUNE,
YALE REVIEW.

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DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

(Use reverse side, if necessary)

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SERIALIZED <u>7/1</u>	FILED <u>7/1</u>
JUL 01 1988	
FBI NEW YORK	

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LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 632 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1988 Newsweek

June 20, 1988, UNITED STATES EDITION

SECTION: NATIONAL AFFAIRS; Pg. 16

LENGTH: 4343 words

HEADLINE: Washington vs. New York

BYLINE: MICKEY KAUS with PETER McKILLOP and NONNY ABBOTT in New York and HOWARD FINEMAN, TIMOTHY NOAH and ELEANOR CLIFT in Washington

HIGHLIGHT:

Why they hate each other -- and why America hates both of them

BODY:

The stock market had collapsed: 508 points in one day. Fortunes vanished. Careers were ruined. The upper-middle class was swamping the 800 lines, bailing out of mutual funds. For a few days, the future of the American economy looked dark. Congressman Ed Markey summed up the mood of the nation's capital:

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"Isn't this exciting!"

Markey may have been thinking of the televised hearings he was planning to hold on the crash. But his comment also reflected something else, something best left unspoken -- namely the intense pleasure many Washingtonians feel with every sign of the impending demise of New York. Washington had smelled victory back in 1976, when New York had to beg Washington to bail it out of new bankruptcy. Since then, though, Washington had been on the defensive. In defiance of all historical trends, New York actually seemed to be ascending. Its economy had boomed. Black Monday brought the prospect of humiliated arbitrageurs, a new fiscal crisis, flat Manhattan real-estate prices and -- it was too delicious? -- Porsche dealers repossessing cars from smug, overleveraged 26-year-old M.B.A.'s. Then would come the hearings, the blue-ribbon commissions, the remedial legislation. Washington, D.C., to the rescue again! It was the biggest win for the capital since Ivan Boesky got nailed by the Securities and Exchange Commission.

There's no use denying it anymore. On some nontrivial economic and emotional level, Washington's enemy is not Moscow, or Beijing, or Panama. It is the alien culture 250 miles to the north. America's seat of government and its largest metropolis are locked in a long twilight struggle over which will be seen as the city of the nation.

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The battle has been going on, quietly, for some time. "In the [past] half century, the power of New York has declined almost in proportion to the imperious, if not altogether imperial, ascent of Washington," writes New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who has feet in both camps. But lately things have been heating up, as Washington again senses victory. Didn't giant Mobil Corp. flee the Big Apple and seek refuge in Washington's Virginia suburbs?

Wasn't Washington now the richest of the nation's 10 large metropolitan areas? Wasn't Bloomingdale's there? Wasn't the blockbuster Gauguin exhibit opening at the National Gallery? (Yes.) Would it go to New York? (No.) Rigs Bank, a Washington institution, has a sign at National Airport that reads "Welcome to the Most Important City on Earth!" Even New York's senior senator seems to agree: "New York is still a great city; but slowly, inexorably, Washington becomes the greater one."

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In April, the Washington-based New Republic magazine published a cover story entitled "NYC, RIP," in which reporter Howard Kurtz outlined in gleeful detail New York's problems. Paired with Kurtz's article was a piece by Irving Kristol, the neoconservative writer, explaining why he'd moved from New York to D.C. New York was no longer "the nation's intellectual center." It "ceased being that about 20 years ago." In Manhattan's literary living rooms, this broadside brought a swift response. Kurtz? He was just whining because he had to live in Queens! Kristol? He'd always been a sucker for power.

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The rest of America may be distinctly unimpressed with both contenders (page 24). To many, New York represents the cutthroat culture of the marketplace, Washington the suffocating culture of bureaucracy. There is other significance in their seemingly incestuous battle for civic supremacy -- waged, largely, by mutually obsessed business and media elites. The decline of America's biggest city may signal the ultimate limits of the city idea itself. But it's not that significant. The future -- the real future, decades down the road -- probably doesn't belong to either of the currently feuding parties, but to Los Angeles, or some sort of amorphous, modem-linked exurbia.

Mainly, it's a good fight. Here, for instance, are the fraternal responses of various New York civic leaders to Washington's recent pretensions to greatness:

"Heh, the trees are fantastic in Washington. If you're a tree, it's a great town. If you're a person there's nothing to do."
-- Jackie Mason, comedian

"... a company town ..."
-- Norman Podhoretz, writer

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And to think some people call New Yorkers arrogant. Before things get out of hand, let's settle this dispute once and for all. Herewith a scrupulously prejudiced evaluation of our two municipal contestants:

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1. Cosmological Significance: "New York has all the money and money decides

who goes to Washington," says New York developer Donald Trump. "Washington is just a place people happen to be. It's New York that gets them there." This is a profoundly myopic statement (see Provincialism, below). First, Trump is equating power in Washington only with elected officials, neglecting the Permanent Washington of regulators, lawyers and lobbyists, who are hardly beholden to New York. Even when it comes to elected officials, Trump's vision is almost Marxist in its exaggeration of financial power. If New York money picked the next president, for example, that will be news to Michael Dukakis, whose campaign was fueled mainly by Massachusetts businessmen and Greek-Americans from all over.

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You could as plausibly argue that New York is a place where rich people happen to be. Manhattan has become a playland for the world's wealthy, with undeniable attractions (see Consumption, below). Increasingly, it is not where major economic decisions are made. The headquarters of 51 Fortune 500 companies are in New York. A decade ago there were 82. Addressing a breakfast crowd of New York City corporate leaders, Gov. Mario Cuomo referred to the problems of

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(c) 1988 Newsweek, June 20, 1988

recruiting workers from the city's isolated, unskilled, despairing minorities. "You can't move away from them," Cuomo told the businessmen. Of course you can.

Washington is no threat to New York as a business center. (Only two Fortune 500 corporations are headquartered in the area.) Its claim to significance is based on power. Reagan was supposed to cut Washington down to size by reducing "big government." Washington survived. New York may have the three networks (though NBC had to be bribed into staying). But the major locus of the news they report is Washington. Which is more important to the U.S. car industry, a decision made in Washington to pressure Japan on import quotas, or a decision made in New York on the price at which to underwrite some auto stock? (Hint: don't buy the stock if they raise the quotas.)

Winner: Washington.

2. Livability: The Germans have a word -- Schadenfreude -- that means "joy at the suffering of others." For Washingtonians, the "Metropolitan News" section of The New York Times -- page B-1 -- might be called the Schadenfreude Express. On a single day, recently, page B-1 brought news of the following: delays in the reconstruction of New York's West Side Highway, which collapsed 15 years ago. Runaway teenagers

Working on "Next Page".

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recruiting workers from the city's isolated, unskilled, despairing minorities. "You can't move away from them," Cuomo told the businessmen. Of course you can.

Washington is no threat to New York as a business center. (Only two Fortune

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Finally, there's a general civility factor. A few years ago The New York Times matter-of-factly chastised its readers for their habit of defecating in building foyers or in the middle of the street. Is there another city in America where "squeegee men" routinely extort quarters by "washing" the windows of cars immobilized at busy midtown stoplights? (The Times once described these menacing characters as a "part of New York's great street theater.") (U)

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Washington, by contrast, is the Big Campus. There are gorgeous public parks, maintained through the generosity of the nation's taxpayers. There's a new subway, paid for by those same taxpayers, that's so clean it looks as if it might be an extension of the Whitney Museum. There are museums, too, paid for by you-know-who. In the white ghetto, old policy chums greet each other in the

street and dish gossip.

Winner: Washington.

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3. Equality: As the "Vital Statistics" box shows, Washington's median income is far higher than New York's. That's not because Washington has a lot of really rich people. It's because Washington has a tremendous number of pretty-well-off people. It's a town of Volvos, not Rolls-Royces.

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One of Washington's dearest pretensions is that it doesn't care about money, in contrast to Mammon-worshiping Gotham. This is true, in a way Donald Trump might not understand. "People who do have money try not to flaunt their money," says Sally Quinn, a Washington writer, who has it (and flaunts it). Quinn's husband, Ben Bradlee, is worshiped in Washington not for his wealth but for his role as executive editor of The Washington Post. When he retires, his cachet will vanish and be transferred to the next editor. Sondra Gotlieb, wife of the Canadian ambassador, destroyed her career by slapping her social secretary when she learned that Richard Darman, then a high Treasury official, wouldn't be attending her party. Darman is now a mere investment banker. "Nobody's going to slap anybody in Washington every again if he's not at their party," notes Diana McLellan, a D.C. society writer. Washington's increasing wealth simply "means that those power people get taken to fancier lunches," says Charles Peters, editor of The Washington Monthly.

In fact, you don't need much money at all to be a social star in Washington, if you have the right role. Journalists and "public interest" activists are peculiar beneficiaries of this arrangement; in Washington they are kings as in no place else. A former Washington Post writer, Walter Shapiro, has written about driving his beatup 1972 station wagon to embassy parties without a hint of status insecurity.

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Walking around New York one can easily find a store devoted exclusively to saxophone or flute repair, a store that sells only light bulbs, a store that specializes in automotive books.

Meanwhile, Washington's Yuppie uniformity and anti-money pretension make it a grim killing ground for trendy purveyors of food and fashion. Glorious Food, a fancy New York caterer, tried expanding to D.C. and discovered that Washington wants "middle-end food," according to Sean Driscoll, the firm's cofounder. "It isn't our style, pigs-in-the-blanket on picks."

D.C. dress is almost aggressively anti-fashionable. For men, a typical Full Washington includes an off-the-rack suit, a too-short tan trench coat and wing-tip shoes. Yellow "power" ties are just catching on. (They're so passe in New York they sell them on the street.) Women's clothes are equally unhip. "You have to wear a very long skirt, clumpy jewelry, comfortable shoes and not be too fashionable," says Patrick McCarthy of W magazine. A D.C. department store, Garfinkels, recently converted almost totally to designer lines of women's clothes. Now it is rumored to be in financial trouble. "The Washington woman does not have the adventurous spirit of the New York woman to experiment with varied fashion statements," admits Aniko Gal, Garfinkel's spokesperson.

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June 6, 1988, Domestic Edition

SECTION: ESSAY; Pg. 206

LENGTH: 4996 words

HEADLINE: THE RICH AND THE POOR

BYLINE: by Myron Magnet, REPORTER ASSOCIATE Patricia A. Langan

BODY:

... deferral of gratification, sobriety, thrift, dogged industry, and so on through the whole catalogue of antique-sounding virtues. Says Irving Kristol, co-editor of The Public Interest magazine: "It's hard to rise above poverty if society keeps deriding the human qualities that ..."

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LEVEL 1 - 10 OF 632 STORIES

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April 11, 1988

SECTION: Vol. 198; No. 15; Pg. 24

LENGTH: 1992 words

HEADLINE: Why I left; New York City

BYLINE: Kristol, Irving

BODY:

WHY I LEFT

By way of prologue to a deep, sociological explanation of why my wife and I have decided to leave New York City and take up residence in Washington, D.C. (no one seems to credit the more obvious reasons: two children and three grandchildren), here are a couple of quotations. The first is from an editorial in the Wall Street Journal:

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Washington, D.C., is a city in the gutter, wallowing in hypocrisy. It has become a bizarre sinkhole of character assassination and smirking selfrighteousness. It will eagerly cast not only the first stone, but any other rocks it can lay its hands on.

The second quotation is from THE NEW REPUBLIC's own Fred Barnes (writing elsewhere):

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Washington is increasingly popular amongst elitist power and addicted to

luxury and mindless political combat, and, worst of all, downright hostile to the non-Washington masses.

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Quite right. One might add Washington's propensity for human sacrifice, in the form of legalized lynchings by Congress of actual or prospective members of the executive or the judiciary.

It is a bloodthirsty city, to a degree unknown elsewhere in the United States. Even for a cynical New Yorker, it is shocking.

In New York the ruling passion is the pursuit of money, whereas in Washington it is the pursuit of power. Now, the pursuit of power is a zero-sum game: you acquire power only by taking it away from someone else. The pursuit of money, Press <ESC> for Local Help CD

The New Republic (c) 1988 IAC

however, is not a zero-sum game, which is why it is a much more innocent human activity. It is possible to make a lot of money without inflicting economic injury on anyone. Making money may be more sordid than appropriating power—at least it has traditionally been thought to be so—but, as Adam Smith and others pointed out, it is also a far more civil activity.

More civil—but so much less interesting! A financial city is always less interesting than a political city. In New York the ladies come and go, talking of private schools or the ballet. In Washington it is political gossip that enchants—often amazing gossip, though generally false. New York cocktail parties are more likely to be boring, Washington cocktail parties disorienting. But, again, more interesting,

It didn't used to be this way. New York was generally agreed to be the only true cosmopolitan city in the United States, while Washington was a national version of Albany. That was because New York was an intellectual center as well as a financial center, importing ideas from Europe and retailing them nationwide. An intellectual center is a place where "literary intellectuals" congregate. It is a place where a dinner party can become acrimonious over such issues as Freudian analysis, progressive education, abstract expressionism, or the relation of religion to morality. I made this point recently in conversation and then brought myself up short, as I realized that it had been a long time Press <ESC> for Local Help CD

The New Republic (c) 1988 IAC

since I had witnessed any such dinner party. New York is not what it was.

Mind you, New York is still the national center for the arts—painting, dance, music, theater. That is why thousands of young people still flock to the city, braving squalid housing at incredible rents, omnipresent crime, and public transportation that is a daily trauma. Moreover, it will probably remain such a national center for a long while yet, because that is where the money is, and all these arts need generous subsidies as well as affluent consumers. When I say "money," I mean real money as measured by the standards of the financial community. In New York to be classified as a mere millionaire, you need \$ 20 million. To be "rich" you need at least twice that amount. To be "wealthy" you need \$ 100 million. It is astonishing how many New Yorkers fall into these categories.

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Moreover, New York remains the nation's media center, where magazines and books are edited and published, and where the TV networks are headquartered. It is considerably more doubtful, however, that this supremacy is secure. Madison Avenue is the linchpin of New York as a media center, and there are powerful centrifugal forces under way in the advertising industry. No one ought to be surprised if, ten years from now, the networks have left New York for a divided existence in Washington (news) and Hollywood (entertainment). Time and Newsweek probably would be in Washington already if they did not have such large, fixed Press <ESC> for Local Help

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investments in New York. Sooner or later, they will make the move.

So New York will remain a great city, but a much diminished one. It will still be the financial center, since the interlocking structure of Wall Street finance, Wall Street law, and even Wall Street printing services will be hard to duplicate elsewhere. And, as noted, where money is, the arts will follow.

But one thing New York will not be: the nation's intellectual center, where "literary intellectuals" live and write and excoriate one another. It ceased being that about 20 years ago. The writers who contribute to the New York Review of Books, Commentary, even the New York Times's Sunday magazine and book review sections live elsewhere for the most part. Established novelists are published in New York but also live elsewhere, as do our best known poets and literary critics.

Columbia and New York University are still respectable schools, but they have very few famous "intellectuals" on their faculties. That generation is without heirs. There are some survivors. But they do not constitute a community; in fact, they frequently are not on speaking terms with one another.

The reasons for the decline of New York as an intellectual center are well known. The most important reason, as Russell Jacoby points out in the Last Press <ESC> for Local Help

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The New Republic (c) 1988 IAC

Intellectuals (Basic Books), is the national expansion and extraordinary transformation of American universities since 1945. People who would once have gravitated toward the "intellectual community" of New York now pursue graduate degrees and academic tenure. There are jobs and careers available, which did not used to be the case. Indeed, even if you decide not to climb the academic ladder, but succeed in becoming what Jacoby calls a "public intellectual," you will find colleges and universities ready to co-opt you. Irving Howe, Michael Harrington, and I all became professors, rather to our surprise, and without ever having had that intention.

If you want an animated discussion of "large ideas" about God, human destiny, Western civilization, modern art, the future of democracy, etc., you are better served in Cambridge, Massachusetts, or Chicago's Hyde Park than in New York. Greenwich Village today is populated by itinerant consumers of such ideas, and New York's magazines are staffed by upwardly mobile men and women who purvey such ideas. But very few are grappling seriously with those ideas. As the city with the most consumers and the most purveyors, New York retains a semblance of an intellectual center. But the reality is not there.

And Washington? It's certainly not here either, and never has been. To a considerable degree this is because Washington does not have a first-rate university, a sine qua non these days for being an intellectual center. The Press <ESC> for Local Help

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The New Republic (c) 1988 IAC

reasons for this lack are something of a mystery to me. I surmise that it is simply a failure of academic leadership, which has permitted Washington to shape its universities into ancillary institutions. It is hard to think of any other reason. Washington is so handsome a city, so nicely located, that first-rate professors and students should be delighted to come.

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Nor can such quasi-academic institutions as the Woodrow Wilson Center, the Library of Congress, or the Smithsonian play a major, active intellectual role by being host to visiting scholars. Just as you cannot revitalize a city center unless you can get middle-class types to live there, as against simply shopping

of scholars, or even "intellectuals."

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But there is one area in which Washington is an intellectual center, and that is public policy: economic policy, social policy, foreign policy, today even educational policy. This area now is dominated by a wide assortment of social scientists. Precisely because Washington is, for most professional persons most of the time, so attractive and livable a city, every administration leaves behind a geological stratum of such people. By now they constitute an intellectual community that, though limited in its horizons, is active, influential, and (most important) interesting to its members. It is also a community with a high level of civility, in contrast to "political"

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Washington.

Many such members move out of government into law firms or consulting, waiting for the wheel of fortune to return them to office and power once again. But many of the best and brightest congregate in that extraordinary Washington institution, the "think tank."

The think tank explosion has occurred in the last two decades. The Brookings Institution, the granddaddy of them all, goes back over a half century, but it is only relatively recently that it finds itself one of a crowd. Behind the explosion lies the increasing sophistication of a handful of conservative foundations that, seeing academia and the media addicted to liberalism and worse, decided to establish new citadels in the "war of ideas." They have had such success with the American Enterprise Institute and the Heritage Foundation, especially--that liberal (and left-of-liberal) foundations have begun to emulate this strategy.

Today Washington seems to give birth to a new think tank every other month or so. And they are no longer staffed exclusively by former officials, but are busy recruiting from academia, the media, and the surviving remnant of New York's once-thriving intellectual community. It is as a recruit from that remnant that I have arrived in Washington from New York, bringing with me the

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23-year-old magazine The Public Interest, of which I am coeditor.

I am not the first, and will not be the last, to come. In the years ahead, I predict, the Council on Foreign Relations (dragging Foreign Affairs along) will arrive. Now that American foreign policy and the State Department no longer have such strong ties with the high-minded "internationalist" element on Wall Street, there is little reason for the council to remain in New York. Wall Street's "old guard," in any case, is a generation that is riding into the sunset, with families that have inherited wealth and social position being replaced by people who are in too hot pursuit of both to bother with foreign policy.

Active controversy over public policy does tend to shade into ideological controversy, which is what animates an intellectual community of the traditional kind. I have attended meetings in Washington that focused on the ideological background and significance of policy issues, meetings that would not have occurred here five or ten years ago. If Washington fails to develop an "intellectual community" in which such forms of discourse are common--and the odds are still against--I shall miss it. On the other hand, I have missed it in New York for quite a while now.

"Political Washington" is indeed capable of being nasty and brutish. But

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"political Washington" is not the whole of Washington, any more than "Wall Street" is New York. There is in Washington a public policy community of thinkers and writers that is engaging and even influential. All of us, of course, still read the New York Times and most of us read the Wall Street journal. New York may not be what it used to be, but we understand that Washington is not yet what it might be.

(U) ~~SECRET~~

Irving Kristol is co-editor of The Public Interest and senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

GRAPHIC: Photograph

SUBJECT: New York (City), personal narratives; City and town life, personal narratives; New York (City), Social conditions

GEOGRAPHIC: New York (City)

LOAD-DATE-MDC: June 14, 1988

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]
(ATTN: INTD, CI-1A)

Date: 7/21/88

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FROM : ADIC, NEW YORK [REDACTED] (P) (I-6)

SUBJ. : CHANGED
IRVING KRISTOL

OO: WMFO

(S)

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 50X(1-HUM,6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C82W33B91

This communication is classified "~~SECRET~~" in its
entirety.

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Title marked "CHANGED" to reflect OO as WMFO. NYO
previously carried as OO.

[REDACTED] initiated 5/3/83; to expire 8/30/88.

(S)

Among the various inscriptions setforth therein is the
following:

2-Bureau
2-WMFO

①-NY [REDACTED]

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JUL 21 1988

FBI NEW YORK

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[REDACTED]
"Irving Kristol"
[REDACTED]
Professor at [REDACTED]
NYU [REDACTED] School of Business
[REDACTED] of
American Enterprise
Institute"

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A review of NYO indices has disclosed that an IRVING KRISTOL, formerly of 90 Riverside Drive and 200 Central Park South, New York, New York, was formerly the subject of NY 161-4254.

Said file contains detailed background information on an IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL who, in late 1972, was being considered for an unspecified Presidential appointment.

The subject of 161-4254 was born 1/22/20 in New York City.

Both of his parents were Russian emigres.

By his own admission, IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL was a member of THE YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL from 1939 to 1940.

During his career KRISTOL served as the editor of numerous magazines including COMMENTARY, ENCOUNTER, THE REPORTER, and THE PUBLIC INTEREST.

He has written articles for various publications, such as, FORTUNE MAGAZINE, NEWSWEEK, the NEW REPUBLIC, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, the NEW YORK TIMES, and the WALL STREET JOURNAL.

He was a member of a RAND CORPORATION study group in 1967, became a HENRY LUCE Professor of Urban Values at New York University (NYU) in 1969 and a member of the Board of Contributors of the WALL STREET JOURNAL in 1972.

IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL's associates, at the time of the aforesaid investigation, included prominent individuals such as, WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, Editor, NATIONAL REVIEW, A. R. ROSENTHAL, Editor, NEW YORK TIMES, LESTER BERNSTEIN, Editor, NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE, and US Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN.

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[REDACTED]

No derogatory information was disclosed during KRISTOL's background investigation.

KRISTOL was generally described by all interviewees as an intellectual, conservative and loyal to the United States.

Further, he was characterized as a social scientist, knowledgeable in the field of domestic affairs, particularly the US political process.

An article by NORMAN PODHORETZ, published in the WASHINGTON POST (pg A19) on 6/30/88, refers to the fact that the author's friend, IRVING KRISTOL, recently moved to Washington D.C. taking the magazine he edits, the PUBLIC INTEREST, along with him. The article deals generally with a comparison of Washington D.C. and New York City as competing intellectual centers. No other information regarding KRISTOL is set forth therein.

It would appear likely, therefore, that IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL, a HENRY LUCE Professor of Urban Values at NYU, is the same individual named [REDACTED]

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(S) This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that a [REDACTED] (S) [REDACTED] (mentioned immediately after KRISTOL [REDACTED] is also a professor with NYU.

In view of the fact that the subject of this matter now appears to reside in the Washington D.C. area NYO has assumed the role of AO in this matter.

The above information should be handled in accordance with the instructions set forth in the FCI Manual, Section 105-3.3.3.. Recognizing the fact that the subject's profession and academic affiliation necessitate FBIHQ clearance prior to interview, NYO is most desirous of determining the nature of (S) [REDACTED] interest in the subject.

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(S) As the acquisition of [REDACTED] has generated numerous ancillary investigations, NYO requests that, in an effort to coordinate these matters, WMFO advise NYO in advance of any interview of the subject.

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TRANSMIT VIA:

☐ Teletype
☒ Facsimile
☐ _____

PRECEDENCE

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☐ UNCLAS 8/31/88

Date

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EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 50X(1-HUM,6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C32W33B91

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: INTD, CI-1A)

FROM: SAC, WMFO [redacted] (P) (CI-2)

IRVING KRISTOL

~~SECRET~~ (U)

OO:WMFO

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ALL MARKINGS, NOTATIONS AND ITEMS OF INFORMATION
CONTAINED IN THIS COMMUNICATION ARE CLASSIFIED ~~SECRET~~ UNLESS
OTHERWISE NOTED.

[redacted] initiated 8/4/88, expires 12/2/88.

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Re New York airtel to FBIHQ 7/21/88.

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CLASSIFIED BY: 4890
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

2-Bureau

1-NY

1-WMFO

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Approved: _____ Transmitted _____ Per _____
(Number) (Time)

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DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 50X(1-HUM,6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C32W33B91

AIRTEL

(U)

~~SECRET~~

10/21/88

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]
FROM: SAC, WMFO [REDACTED] (C) (CI-2)

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IRVING KRISTOL

[REDACTED]

(OO:WMFO)

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~~ALL~~ MARKINGS, NOTATIONS AND ITEMS OF INFORMATION
CONTAINED IN THIS COMMUNICATION ARE CLASSIFIED "~~SECRET~~" UNLESS
OTHERWISE NOTED.

[REDACTED] initiated 5/3/88; extended to
11/26/88.

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Re airtels from New York dated 7/21/88, WMFO dated
8/31/88, FBIHQ dated 9/26/88, and WMFO telcall to New York on
10/17/88.

In referenced airtel New York advised that [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] IRVING KRISTOL,
who now resides in Washington, D.C. where he edits the magazine,
The Public Interest.

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2-Bureau
2-New York
1-WMFO

[REDACTED] (I-6)

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OCT 28 1988
FBI NEW YORK

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Due to KRISTOL's academic and professional background and his current editorial position, WMFO sought and received FBIHQ authority to interview.

On 10/17/88, SA [REDACTED] WMFO, interviewed IRVING KRISTOL at his office, The Public Interest, 1112 16th Street, N.W., Suite 530, Washington, D.C., telephone 785-8555. After being advised of the FBI's responsibilities in the area of foreign counterintelligence, Mr. IRVING was asked if he was acquainted with [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] (S)

Mr. IRVING stated that he did not believe that he had ever met anyone by that name. The only contact with Soviets that Mr. KRISTOL recalled occurred early in the 1980's at the beginning of the REAGAN Administration. [REDACTED], a member of the Russian American Studies Institute in Moscow, interviewed Mr. KRISTOL on what he believed President REAGAN's foreign policy decisions would be. He was also interviewed by a journalist from TASS who's name he did not recall.

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During that same time period, KRISTOL attended a banking conference in Vienna, Austria. There were Russians in attendance and one was an employee with the United Nations. KRISTOL could not recall his name, however. This conference related to economics in the Third World and had nothing to do with the Middle East [REDACTED]

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Mr. KRISTOL stated that he is pro-Israel and has written articles on the Middle East for the Wall Street Journal.

IRVING KRISTOL resides at 2510 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C, telephone 338-7207.

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As Mr. KRISTOL could provide no information regarding [REDACTED] WMFO will consider this case closed.

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DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 25X(1,6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C32W33B91

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

M E M O R A N D U M

TO : SAC DIV I [REDACTED] (P) (I-6)
FROM : SA [REDACTED] (I-6)
SUBJ : [REDACTED]
OO:NY (S)

Date: 10/27/88

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This communication is classified ~~"SECRET"~~ in its entirety. (no copies for [REDACTED])

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Writer's review(see attached notes) re the AMERICAN
ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH, aka the AMERICAN
ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE(AEI) with which [REDACTED] is linked [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] disclosed the following: (S)

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The NYO NEXIS response re AEI of eighty pages represents
only ten percent of available material re AEI. It is
characterized as, "a WDC think-tank; a public policy research
organization; a research center; conservative-oriented;
nonpartisan; and one of WDC's leading study organizations."

AEI appears to have various departments, which include at
least the following areas: Religion, Public Policy, Fiscal
Policy Studies, Foreign Studies, and Congressional Studies.

AEI employees are frequently sought out for comment upon
current foreign and domestic situations as they are quite
prominent. For example, a few of those mentioned are: 1) ARTHUR
F. BURNS- Federal Reserve Board Chairman, US Ambassador to W.
Germany, and advisor to Presidents Eisenhower, Nixon, and Carter,
2) JOHN C. MILLER III- President Reagan's Office of Management
and Budget Director, 3) RICHARD N. PERLE- President Reagan's
Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security, 4) BUI
DIEM- South Vietnam's last Ambassador to the US prior to its
Communist takeover in April, 1975, and 5) IRVING KRISTOL.

① [REDACTED] (KRISTOL) (I-6)
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[REDACTED]

AEI employment appears to be a viable option to those having already achieved a successful career. For example, at the time of his failure to achieve Supreme Court Justice status, Federal Appeals Court Judge ROBERT H. BORK was considering resignation from the Appeals Court to join AEI.

AEI employees are characterized in the NEXIS response as being, "specialists, analysts, political analysts, Congressional analysts, scholars, Congressional scholars, resident scholars, lecturers, consultants, and resident fellows," depending upon the source citing the given individual's comments. Those cited most frequently include WILLIAM SCHNEIDER, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

Following this NEXIS review, writer opines that if [REDACTED] is in fact an employee or associate of AEI, his credentials, status, and position would certainly be of interest to Line PR. Thus, [REDACTED] apparent interest in [REDACTED] would appear warranted for MOLIN's political perspectives alone, even without the presence of or potential for an intelligence relationship between the two.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (ATTN: CI-1A)

Date: 11/14/88

FROM : ADIC, NEW YORK [REDACTED] (RUC) (I-6)

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SUBJ. : CHANGED:

OO:WMFO

(S)

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 50X(1-HUM,6)
DATE 12-16-2015 BY: C32W33B91

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(S) Title marked "CHANGED" to reflect new Office of Origin.
Title formerly carried as, [REDACTED] OO:NY."

This communication is classified "~~SECRET~~" in its entirety.

[REDACTED] current authority expires 1/29/89.

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(S) Re WMFO airtels to the Bureau, 8/31/88 and 10/21/88, both
captioned, "IRVING KRISTOL; [REDACTED] OO:WMFO," and NY
airtel to the Bureau, 10/16/88, captioned, [REDACTED]
(S) [REDACTED] OO:NY."

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(S) WARNING: THE FOLLOWING CONCERNS SINGULAR INFORMATION
FURNISHED [REDACTED] PRIOR TO ANY DISSEMINATION OF SAME,
SUITABLE PARAPHRASING IS NECESSARY TO PROTECT THIS SOURCE.

Re WMFO airtel of 8/31/88 set forth the predication for
this case, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] a sensitive and reliable (S)
source of a singular nature. [REDACTED] the name
of IRVING KRISTOL positioned directly above that of [REDACTED]
followed by apparent descriptive data suggesting an association
between one or both men and the New York University (NYU)
Graduate School of [REDACTED] and/or the American Enterprise
Institute (AEI).

- 2- Bureau (RM)
- 2- Washington Metropolitan Field Office (RM)

1- [REDACTED] (KRISTOL) (CI-2)

1- [REDACTED]
(2) New York
1- [REDACTED] (KRISTOL) (I-6)

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[]
Re NY airtel set forth investigation at NY which failed to show any association between [] and either the NYU [] or the AEI at New York.

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A review of NEXIS materials re the AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH, aka the AEI, 1150 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., revealed that KRISTOL has been employed by AEI in the past. Although all NEXIS citations were recent, none of them showed whether or not KRISTOL is still employed by AEI.

As nothing in NYO's investigation indicates that [] is in the NYO area, as WMFO has identified KRISTOL as living and working in the WDC area, and as KRISTOL has been shown via NEXIS to have an association in fact with the AEI, which is itself located in WDC, New York has designated WMFO as the Office of Origin. NYO opines that KRISTOL may know [] possibly through their past association(s) with AEI and/or the NYU []

As no outstanding leads remain at New York, this case is being RUC.

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